

Briefing: Constitution, Europe, External Affairs and Culture Committee Evidence Session on Climate Justice, Thursday 30 September 2021

Oxfam Scotland's vision is of a Scotland, and a world, without poverty, a vision made significantly harder to achieve by the climate crisis. Around the world, we are witnessing how climate change is impacting those with the least resources. Fundamentally, those paying the price first and worst did very little, if anything, to cause this crisis with clear evidence that it is fuelled by the emissions of the richest. Worst still, developed countries, those who have contributed the most to this crisis, are breaking their promises to support people in developing countries to adapt their lives and livelihoods. It is also now critical to deliver climate justice in the way countries cut their emissions. While Oxfam's primary focus is on the impact of the climate crisis in low-income countries, climate justice applies globally, including within Scotland.

Oxfam believes we have reached an historic juncture in which we risk jumping from the frying pan of the pandemic into the fire of an irreversible climate crisis. Given this, in November, Scotland must seize the substantial opportunity to influence global climate action at COP26 in Glasgow. This briefing is informed by Oxfam Scotland's recommendations¹ for the Scottish Parliament which reflect the intersecting climate, inequality and COVID-19 crises, as well as by those of Scotland's leading civil society climate coalition, Stop Climate Chaos Scotland, ahead of COP26.²

10 Key Messages on Climate Justice

- At the heart of climate injustice is the reality that those who have contributed the least to climate change are suffering first and worst: this crisis was created by the 'haves' but it hits the 'have nots' hardest.
- People's homes and lives are being destroyed: in 2020, some 98.4 million people were affected by floods, storms and other climate-related disasters and there were economic losses of at least \$171 billion.³
- Over a 25-year period, the richest 10%, approximately 630 million people, accounted for 52% of global carbon emissions, in contrast, the poorest 50%, approximately 3.1 billion people were responsible for just 7%.⁴
- Scotland has a relatively strong commitment to climate justice, and a *relatively* robust record of climate action, including strong legal targets and governance framework which can be used to influence global climate action.
- While Scotland's emissions have halved since 1990, and they continue to fall, Scotland's credibility on climate justice is now in significant jeopardy due to it missing three successive annual emissions targets.
- To achieve Scotland's 75% emissions cut target by 2030, enroute to net zero by 2045, Scotland must accelerate climate action while delivering a just transition for those impacted and raising the finance needed by taxing highemitters, and high incomes and wealth, acting upon high-levels of public concern.
- The Scottish Government should demonstrate its commitment to climate justice by making clear its opposition to the approval of new oil and gas licenses, including the proposed Cambo oil field.
- Within the limits of devolved competencies, the Scottish Government is showing strong leadership by increasing the Climate Justice Fund and by ensuring this remains additional to wider international development funding. It should build on this by championing the global need for a new finance mechanism on loss and damage.
- The Scottish Government should build on welcome participative approaches to climate action decision-making, while ensuring it continues to amplify the voices and priorities of impacted communities within the Global South.
- The Scottish Government must place the priorities of climate-impacted communities in the Global South as identified within the Glasgow Climate Dialogues at the core of its messaging for COP26 in Glasgow.

Deepening Climate Injustice

No level of climate change is safe. People's lives are being lost with rising global temperatures increasing the frequency and severity of extreme weather, like droughts and floods. Along with slower-onset impacts like sea-level rise – crops, drinking water and livelihoods are being destroyed. The consequences are devastating for those least able to cope: more poverty, suffering, forced migration and hunger. The UN warns that political and business leaders are failing to stop the planet turning into an "uninhabitable hell" for millions of people facing more extreme weather events.⁵

In the Paris Agreement⁶, countries promised to limit temperature rises to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels, while pursuing efforts to limit it to 1.5°C. Yet the world has already warmed by 1.1°C.⁷ Current pledges and targets put the world on track for 2.4°C of warming by 2100. However, there is a gap between promises and actions and, based on existing policies, warming is predicted to reach 2.7-3.1°C by 20100.⁸ To limit the damage to 1.5°C, the world should be on track to have cut carbon emissions by 45% by 2030. However, the UN analysis of countries' climate plans, known as Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), shows that while greenhouse gas emissions are being reduced over time, the world is way off track to limit warming to 1.5°C. In fact, we're on a path to 2.7°C warming by the end of the century and, based on currently available NDCs, global emissions will rise by 16% from 2010 levels by 2030.⁹

In August 2021, hundreds of scientists from the IPCC issued the starkest warning yet about human impact on the planet amid unprecedented changes, including more intense heatwaves and more extreme weather events, with some changes now inevitable and irreversible. ¹⁰ The UN Secretary General branded the findings a "code red for humanity". ¹¹ The science is now overwhelming: our planet is on fire and without concerted action we're headed towards climate catastrophe; with the poorest communities – wherever they live – and future generations suffering the most:

- Globally, 2020 tied for the hottest year on record¹², with 98.4 million people affected by floods, storms and other climate-related disasters and economic losses of at least \$171 billion.¹³
- The World Bank says climate change could push up to 132 million people in poverty by 2030¹⁴ and the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, warns of a "climate apartheid" in which the "wealthy pay to escape overheating, hunger, and conflict while the rest of the world is left to suffer".¹⁵
- UNICEF says that approximately 1 billion children nearly half the world's 2.2 billion children are at "extremely high-risk" of the impacts of the climate crisis. ¹⁶ Separate research suggests that a child born in 2020 will endure an average of 30 extreme heatwaves in their lifetime, even if countries fulfil their current emissions pledges, with this seven times more heatwaves than someone born in 1960. ¹⁷
- Hot and cold temperatures are estimated to kill five million people every year¹⁸, accounting for more than 9% of human deaths globally; this is expected to increase as heat-related deaths rise due to climate change. Climate impacts are devastating agriculture. The UN says that 155m people faced extreme food insecurity in 2020 – 20m more than the previous year – with climate change a contributing factor.¹⁹
- Climate injustice is also felt by those with the least in Scotland. In 2019, an estimated 24.6% (around 613,000 households) of all households were in fuel poverty, with 12.4% (or 311,000 households) living in extreme fuel poverty spending more than one fifth of their income to stay warm.²⁰ Low-income groups are also more likely to live in urban areas with high levels of pollution and to have health conditions aggravated by it.²¹

Gendered power structures interact with other characteristics – such as age, disability, race and poverty – to make women, and particularly women of colour living in poverty in the Global South, most vulnerable: from having to walk further to collect water to being last to eat during food shortages.²² Without more women from the Global South at the table, and a gendered, intersectional and transformative response to adaptation, it will be less effective. Women play significant roles in agriculture, food security, household livelihoods, and managing natural resources and therefore bring knowledge, skills and agency to adaptation activities. While women and girls in the Global South are excluded, they will continue to pay for climate change with their lives, livelihoods and wellbeing. Positively, the UK COP26 Presidency has identified improving the gender-responsiveness of climate finance as a priority for action.²³

Confronting Extreme Carbon Inequality

The over-consumption of a wealthy minority is fuelling the climate crisis and putting the planet in peril. To deliver climate justice, we must confront the deep carbon inequality which has brought the world to the climate brink.²⁴

• Globally, between 1990 and 2015, the richest 10% (c. 630m people), accounted for over 52% of carbon emissions. In contrast, the poorest 50% (c.3.1b people) were responsible for just 7% of cumulative emissions.

• In the UK, the average carbon footprint of the wealthiest 1% is 11 times larger than that of someone in the poorest half of society, with their carbon footprint 6 times that of the national average. The wealthiest 1% were the only group whose total consumption emissions remained stable between 1990 and 2015, all other income groups reduced their carbon footprint, while emissions across the population as a whole fell by 12%.

Over the past 20-30 years, our limited global carbon budget has been squandered in the service of increasing the consumption of the already affluent, helping to fuel the climate crisis and inequality. The two groups that suffer most are those least responsible for the climate crisis: poorer and marginalised people struggling with climate impacts, and future generations who will inherit a depleted carbon budget and a world facing climate breakdown. Ban Ki-moon, Deputy Chair of The Elders, and the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, says "our current economic model has been an enabler of catastrophic climate change and equally catastrophic inequality". He has highlighted the "incontestable imperative to rebuild better", adding that: "Addressing the disproportionate carbon emissions from the wealthiest in society must be a key priority as part of this collective commitment".²⁶

Oxfam believes that governments can tackle both extreme inequality and the climate crisis if they target the excessive emissions of the richest and invest in low-income and vulnerable communities. Increased taxation of high-incomes and wealth, as well as new carbon taxes on luxury items – such as private jets, super yachts, and carbon-intensive SUVs and frequent flights – would incentivise emission cuts while generating significant new revenue to invest in low-carbon jobs and green public transport, while helping low-income communities to adapt to the changing climate.

Committee Question: The part Scotland can play in promoting global climate governance

As a part of the UK, Scotland is a party to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the 2015 Paris Agreement. This Agreement has three pillars: **Mitigation** (reducing emissions); **Adaptation** (enhancing adaptive capacity and resilience while reducing vulnerability); and **Loss and Damage** (averting, minimising and addressing loss and damage associated with climate change). In relation to these pillars, the Scottish Government's current activities largely cover two: mitigation and adaptation. We explore mitigation in the section below. While adaptation is primarily discussed in the later section on the interaction between climate justice and international development, Scotland can also play a role in the promotion of global climate governance in relation to climate finance.

Scotland's Ambition Emissions Reduction Targets and Strong Legal Framework

As a founding hub of the first industrial revolution, Scotland bears a significant responsibility to lead the way towards a climate-just future. Encouragingly, as we approach COP26, Scotland goes into the talks with a *relatively* strong track record. In the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2019, Scotland has some of the strongest legal targets in the global North. Our legal targets commit us to 'net-zero' by 2045, five years earlier than the rest of the UK, with an interim 75% cut from the 1990 baseline by 2030.²⁷ While our targets do not fully reflect our historic emissions²⁸, nor emissions generated by goods and services produced outside of Scotland but consumed here, these targets, and linked governance frameworks, including annual targets and reporting, are amongst the strongest in the global North. Positively, in relation to climate justice, Scotland's Climate Change Act commits to supporting the people "most affected by climate change but who have done the least to cause it and are the least equipped to adapt to its effects".²⁹

Scotland as an International Champion of Climate Justice and Enhanced Governance

As home to the host city for COP26, Scotland will never have a better chance to inspire global climate action. Positively, the Scottish Government has promoted Scotland's climate record internationally by publishing an "indicative" Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC).³⁰ As a member of the UK, Scotland isn't an independent signatory to the Paris Agreement, so is not required to outline its national effort in this way. Given this, Scotland's voluntary indicative NDC is a highly positive attempt to utilise Scotland's ambitious targets to drive up global ambition ahead, at a time when UN analysis³¹ of countries' NDCs, show emissions are on track to rise by 16% from 2010 levels by 2030. Latest IPCC findings say that such an increase may lead to a temperature rise of about 2.7C by the end of the century.

As outlined below Scotland's climate record must be bolstered, however, the Scottish Government must do everything in its power before and during COP26 to ensure Scotland's relatively ambitious example is heard, including utilising its role as the European Co-Chair of the Under2 Coalition, a "global community of state and regional governments committed to ambitious climate action in line with the Paris Agreement". We also welcome the Scottish Government's leadership of the Wellbeing Economy Governments³³, a platform with New Zealand, Iceland and others

to encourage shared learning, and a shift towards richer measures of national progress beyond economic growth. Globally, an over-reliance on GDP as a measure of national progress ignores that it accords no value to anything outside of the market, whether positive, like unpaid caring, or negative, like climate change.³⁴ Scotland can point to progress in implementing richer measures through the National Performance Framework³⁵, which the Scottish Government says is Scotland's way to localise the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).³⁶ However, action is needed to ensure the National Outcomes drive policy and spending choices, with improved links to the Scottish Budget.

Scotland Climate Action Record is in Jeopardy

However, while attempts to inspire faster global progress ahead of COP26 are very welcome, to be credible, the Scottish Government must, at a minimum, show it is delivering Scotland's legal emissions reduction targets. While Scotland's emissions have fallen by 51.5% between 1990 and 2019³⁷, the legal target for 2019 was a 55% reduction. Scotland has now missed three annual targets in a row.³⁸ While emissions did fall year-on year, we can afford no more excuses. In other circumstances, aiming relatively high, but falling short could perhaps be excused. But the climate crisis affords no such luxury: a failure to cut emissions in line with what science demands costs lives. Positively, the Scottish Government has promised a "catch-up plan"³⁹; it is critical that Scotland's existing climate plan is now urgently strengthened before the 2030 target moves firmly out of reach. Importantly, we note the increasing willingness of citizens to hold their governments to account for climate inaction, including through legal challenges.⁴⁰

• Delivering Net Zero Through Rapid Emission Reduction

Scotland can set a strong international climate governance example by getting on track to deliver net zero by 2045 without an over reliance on negative emissions technologies. Encouragingly, more than 120 countries, including those in the EU, the USA, China and Japan, have pledged to reach net zero by mid-century. There has also been a wave of corporate net zero commitments. However, in many cases, these targets risk being a greenwashing exercise. Too many net zero targets are cobbled together with unreliable, unproven and unrealistic schemes to remove carbon from the atmosphere. Such approaches cannot be used as an alibi for not cutting emissions quickly and deeply now.

The Scottish Government is committed to investing £180 million in an Emerging Energy Technologies Fund to "support the development of hydrogen and carbon capture and storage", though it says that "any strategy for their deployment must enable decarbonisation at pace and cannot be used to justify unsustainable levels of fossil fuel extraction or impede Scotland's just transition to net zero". Despite the buzz devoted to new technologies, none have yet proven possible to use at scale. The only proven way to remove carbon from the atmosphere is to use land to do so by growing billions of trees and storing carbon in trees and soil. Oxfam's global analysis suggests an over-reliance on using vast swathes of land in low-income countries to capture carbon emissions could place food production at risk. Using land alone to remove the world's carbon emissions to achieve 'net zero' by 2050 would require at least 1.6 billion hectares of new forests, equivalent to five times the size of India or more than all the farmland on the planet. Stopping deforestation and sustainably restoring and managing lands wherever possible is of course a good thing and brings enormous environmental and social benefits, but it is impossible to plant enough trees to meet the combined net zero targets announced by governments and corporations without major consequences on food production.

Committee Question: What - given the emphasis of Scotland's Climate Assembly on fairness - climate justice looks like locally and globally

Cutting Scotland's Emissions Quickly, Deeply and Fairly as Part of the Covid-19 Recovery

To deliver climate justice, Scotland must focus on cutting carbon emissions deeply by 2030. The UKCCC says Scotland must "earn its stripes as an international climate leader" through "decisive action". 44 At 68%, a majority of people in all age groups across Scotland say climate change is an "immediate and urgent problem" – with levels of concern rising. 45 The Scottish Parliament must act upon this significant public concern. History will judge Scotland's commitment to climate justice on the speed and depth of emissions cuts, not ambitious-sounding promises.

However, while emissions cuts must be fast and deep, they must also be fair. We must simultaneously tackle the linked climate and inequality crises. To deliver climate justice in Scotland, policies must be shaped by those in poverty and those impacted by the climate crisis while recognising the deep connections between climate justice and gender justice. We must reduce emissions amongst the richest and raise the money needed to cut emissions faster and fairly in Scotland through progressive taxes on wealth and high incomes, and high-carbon activities like frequent flights.

Encouragingly, Scotland's Climate Assembly placed an emphasis on fairness.⁴⁸ More than 70% of Assembly members felt that to be fair, the Scottish Parliament should "target the highest emitters so that organisations and individuals with the highest carbon footprint have to make the biggest changes". Between 60-70% of members say that it must "act immediately so that future generations are not unfairly burdened with the responsibility of making change" and "support workers in industries where change will lead to job losses". Importantly, in relation to global climate justice, between 20 and 50% of members said climate action should "not have a negative impact on developing countries". The Scottish Government's response to the Assembly must reflect a sharp focus on fairness at home and abroad.

The promised "recovery and renewal"⁴⁹ from coronavirus must include sustained investment in green infrastructure and new, valuable, low-carbon jobs, such as within care, simultaneously addressing the deep undervaluation of those with caring responsibilities, most of whom are women.^{50,51} As recommended by the Scottish Parliament's lead committee on climate change, we must "front-load" investment in low-carbon solutions "we already know about" and tackle the "implementation gap".⁵² We must fully decarbonise electricity generation⁵³ and drive down emissions in high-emitting sectors, such as agriculture⁵⁴ and transport⁵⁵, where progress is slow.

Commitments in the Scottish Government's Programme for Government⁵⁶ to invest at least £1.8 billion over this Parliament in decarbonising homes and buildings and to increasing spending on active travel to at least £320m or 10% of the total transport budget by 2025 are welcome⁵⁷ and should reduce emissions while disproportionately benefiting those in poverty.⁵⁸ However, it is essential that the Government makes rapid progress in delivering real action now, including by cutting emissions from transport, Scotland's biggest emitting sector. In addition, with large quantities of waste being exported from Scotland⁵⁹, legislation to encourage a circular economy built on sharing, repairing and reusing to cut Scotland's consumption must also be rekindled.⁶⁰ Under current plans, the proposed Circular Economy Bill will be delayed until "later in this parliamentary session⁶¹; work should start on this Bill quickly.

The Just Transition Commission set up by the Scottish Government to help steer the shift from high- to low-carbon activities while creating benefits and opportunities for people across Scotland says this must be a "national mission". Scotland must meet the Commission's challenge to "move beyond the rhetoric" by supporting workers in impacted industries, like oil and gas, into high-quality new jobs. The Scottish Government says it is committed to "leaving no person, industry or community behind". It has committed to implementing the Commission's recommendations and has promised a ten-year, £500 million just transition fund for the North East and Moray. However, this transition cannot wait. The Scottish Government has, rightly, acknowledged that "unlimited extraction of fossil fuels is incompatible with our climate obligations" and has called for new and existing oil and gas licences to be assessed against a robust Climate Compatibility Check Point. The UK Government should urgently act on this call. However, Scottish Ministers have a duty to demand that it blocks plans for the proposed new Cambo oilfield. This proposal is a clear climate contradiction: drilling for new oil as the climate emergency pushes millions of people deeper into hunger and poverty is clearly incompatible and wrong. The International Energy Association says that no new oil and gas fields should be developed if the global energy sector is to achieve net-zero by mid-century. In addition, Lord Deben, the Chair of the Climate Change Committee (CCC) has said: "The justification for any new oil and gas exploration or production has to be very, very, very strong and I cannot say that I have so far seen any such evidence".

At the same time, our expectations of business to contribute to climate justice should grow. The Government must quickly realise calls for greater conditionality⁶⁹ with those firms accessing public money required to commit to transformative climate action, fulfilling pledges to link publicly-funded business support with climate objectives.⁷⁰

The Scottish Government must commit to the actions needed to cut emissions by at least 75% by 2030, in line with the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2019. This climate action should be funded through taxes on high emitters, high incomes and wealth, while ensuring a just transition for impacted communities and requiring businesses accessing public money to commit to transformative climate action.

Committee Question: Where climate justice fits in the context of our international development commitments

• Broken Promises on Global Climate Finance

A clear example of climate injustice is the broken promises made by rich, developed countries to support those most impacted by the climate crisis. Climate finance is central to the Paris Agreement and it is vital to global efforts to tackle the climate crisis and its impacts. In 2009, developed countries committed to mobilise \$100 billion per year by 2020⁷¹ to help developing countries adapt to the effects of climate change and to reduce their emissions. However, finance

levels are too low, too conditional and too often out of reach of those who need it most. This comes at a time when Covid-19 is imposing additional financial burdens on low-income countries' already stretched budgets and when global vaccine inequality means that just 2% of adults are fully vaccinated in low-income countries.⁷²

Oxfam analysis suggests that without action, wealthy nations will fall up to around \$75 billion short of fulfilling the \$100bn annual climate finance pledge between 2020 and 2025. Newly released data from The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows that developed countries provided only around \$80 billion in 2019.⁷³ Based on current pledges and plans, Oxfam estimates that wealthy governments will continue to miss the \$100bn goal and only reach \$93-95bn per year by 2025, five years after it should have been met. It means climate-vulnerable countries could miss out on between \$68 billion and \$75 billion in total over the six-year target period.

While some countries, including the US, Canada and Germany, have increased their pledges in recent months their efforts have not been enough. At the G7 Summit in June, leaders repeated their commitment to narrow the gap, but those of France, Australia and Japan failed to increase their contributions above current levels. Several countries, including Italy, Spain and the Netherlands have made no new climate finance pledges. Leaving those who are not responsible for the climate crisis to bear the costs is a violation of the principles of equity and "common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities" within the Paris Agreement.

There are also serious concerns about how wealthy countries are allocating the climate finance which is mobilised:

- The UN Secretary-General, Oxfam and others have called for a 50:50 split between mitigation and adaptation, but we estimate that only about a quarter (\$26-27 billion) of total climate finance in 2025 will be spent helping developing countries build resilience and adapt to worsening climate impacts;
- In 2019, 70% of public climate finance was given as loans rather than grants. This seems set to continue to 2025 and will push developing countries facing additional financial pressures from COVID-19 further into debt.
- Only around 14% of climate finance goes to the Least Developed Countries and 2% to Small Island Developing States despite them being vulnerable to climate impacts and having the least resources to cope.⁷⁴
- Much of the climate finance mobilised is not new or additional to existing aid promises. For example, the UK Government's contribution to climate finance is being taken from its Overseas Development Assistance.⁷⁵

During last month's Informal Leaders Meeting on Climate Change at the United Nations General Assembly, the UN Secretary-General stressed the need to "rebuild the spirit of collaboration, trust and solidarity that were the hallmarks of the Paris Agreement ahead of COP26". Encouragingly, alongside reinforcing the need to limit global temperature rises to 1.5°C, leaders reinforced that developed countries must fulfil the longstanding pledge to mobilise \$100bn per year to support climate action in developing countries. The pandemic has shown that countries can swiftly mobilise trillions of dollars to respond to an emergency; a similar response is urgently needed for the climate crisis.

For developing countries, transitioning to clean energy and adapting to climate change impacts – some of which are already irreversible – requires financial support. The UN Environment Program says annual adaptation costs in developing countries are expected to reach \$140-300 billion per year by 2030, and \$280-500 billion by 2050.⁷⁷ Right now, vulnerable counties are spending large amounts of their stretched public finances on combating climate change. For example, poor families in rural Bangladesh spend nearly \$2 billion a year on preventing climate-related disasters or repairing the damage caused by them, more than 12 times more than Bangladesh receives in multilateral international climate financing. The average person in Bangladesh produces 24 times less CO2 than in the US.

Financing Loss and Damage

While climate finance is critical, even with ambitious action on mitigation and adaptation, some consequences of climate change are no longer avoidable. Collectively known as 'loss and damage', these negative impacts are rising rapidly around the world – from loss of lives, land and livelihoods due to sea-level rise, to major economic losses resulting from extreme weather events.⁷⁸ Finance for loss and damage is a major gap with developed countries pointing instead to the humanitarian system, insurance and adaptation finance as the answer. But these existing structures and funding streams are not meeting the scale of the need. As a stand-alone article in the Paris Agreement, loss and damage should be considered separately from and additional to (already inadequate) adaptation finance and the \$100bn commitment. COP26 must therefore make progress on identifying new and innovative ways to mobilise new funds for loss and damage; this could include a climate damages tax on carbon majors, and as a minimum, cancelling debt during climate-induced crises. This is particularly key given the recent NDC synthesis report shows we are far off track to meet the emissions reductions required to be on track for 1.5°C warming.

Scotland's Growing Climate Justice Fund and Enhancing this Positive International Example

Amid this global climate finance gap, as a sub-state actor, Scotland has a positive story to tell. The Climate Justice Fund⁷⁹ was established in 2012 with cross party support. Initially worth £3m in total, in 2015 the Fund was increased to £3m per year for 2016 to 2021. The Fund's purpose is to "help build resilience to climate change among vulnerable people in our International Development Partner countries of Malawi, Rwanda and Zambia".⁸⁰ Since 2017, the Fund has been split across the Climate Challenge Fund Malawi and the Climate Justice Innovation Fund, with some investment in the Malawi Water Stewardship Initiative. While the Fund is small, unlike too much global climate finance, it is additional to the Scottish Government's international development contribution, which is rising from £10m to £15m. However, funding committed by the Scottish Government, including via the Climate Justice Fund, is counted by the UK Government within its Official Development Assistance; this approach should end in recognition of the need for additional climate finance; we cannot rob schools and hospitals in low-income countries to tackle the climate crisis.

Scotland's Climate Justice Fund has remained frozen at £3m a year since 2016, losing value at a time of spiralling climate impacts. However, positively, the Scottish Government has confirmed it will double the Fund to £6 million per year, starting next year, thereby providing £24 million across this Parliament.⁸¹ Oxfam Scotland and our supporters campaigned for this increase⁸² and it is a very welcome and timely acknowledgement that faster action to reduce our emissions must be accompanied by an urgent scaling up of the financial support given to vulnerable countries. However, to deliver climate justice, how this extra money is raised also matters. Scotland should signal its intent to tax the high-emitters that are making the climate crisis worse. Importantly, the Fund should also be focused on supporting communities to adapt, recognising the global funding gap. The Government should also reinforce its commitment to ensuring adaptation is locally-led. Positively, the Climate Challenge Programme Malawi is focused on "enabling vulnerable Malawian communities to identify and implement solutions to the climate challenges they face".83 The recent Glasgow Climate Dialogue on Adaptation and Resilience, hosted by Oxfam Scotland and Oxfam in Bangladesh, called for the UNFCCC to formally adopt the Principles for Locally-led Adaptation⁸⁴ and embed them within its systems and processes; this approach should be echoed by the Scottish Government. The Dialogue highlighted that locally-led adaptation can be more effective and result in greater uptake because people, communities and organisations have first-hand knowledge of climate impacts and how to cope in their context. Structural barriers can create barriers to local communities. A proportionate approach to application and reporting, as well as patient and flexible funding, is needed to help ensure more finance reaches frontline communities.

Zambia Climate Justice Initiative (2012-2015)

Between 2012 and 2015, Oxfam delivered a project in Zambia with £409,000 funding from the Climate Justice Fund. The project developed and promoted resilient livelihoods among small scale farmers and households in communities by promoting water resource management, increasing levels of preparedness by supporting farmers to better understand hydrological changes, and allow for better investment in adaptation actions that reflect the gender diverse needs. The project worked to improve water access and sanitation, while develop and promoting climate resilient livelihoods by through more productive and sustainable farming methods.

International Development Fund – Climate-focused Projects

Oxfam has delivered International Development Fund projects with climate change elements. This includes a £1.3m project (short films) between 2012-2015 to support small-holder farmers in Tanzania to build resilience to climate change and overcome poverty through improved market access and income security, while increasing efficient water and land use. Between 2012 and 2015, Oxfam also supported more than 19,000 smallholder producers, especially women, in Malawi to become more resilient by earning a decent living from farming and new enterprise activities. The project significantly improved the livelihoods of producers through their participation in value chains, training and Village Savings and Loans associations.

Beyond climate finance, the Scottish Government could play a positive role by championing the creation of a new funding mechanism for loss and damage for communities facing irreversible climate impacts. Participants from the Global South used a Glasgow Climate Dialogue focused on this issue to call for the Scottish Government to create a new solidarity fund.⁸⁵ Signalling an intent to do so would send a very positive message ahead of COP26 in Glasgow.

The Scottish Government should finance the Scottish Climate Justice Fund by taxing high-emitters, high incomes and wealth, while formally adopting the Principles for Locally-led Adaptation and championing the creation of a new global funding mechanism for loss and damage, including considering the creation of new solidarity fund.

Committee Question: How we measure up against the Principles for Climate Justice⁸⁶

Oxfam has not undertaken a detailed mapping of Scotland's performance against the seven Principles of Climate Justice. However, we offer the following general observations to inform the Committee's evidence gathering.

The Principles says climate justice requires actions to "Respect and Protect Human Rights". The SNP manifesto committed to the incorporation of four UN Human Rights treaties into Scots Law⁸⁷ and the Scottish Government's National Taskforce for Human Rights Leadership has proposed the creation of a new, statutory human rights framework for Scotland.⁸⁸ Encouragingly, this includes a recommendation for the proposed framework to include "A right to a healthy environment for everyone". This must encompass the rights of people living in Scotland, and globally. Meanwhile, the Scottish Government's Climate Justice Fund claims it is "a people-centred, human-rights approach".

The Principles stress the need to "Support the Right to Development" while highlighting that the vast gulf in resources between rich and poor – both between and within countries – is highlighted and exacerbated by climate change. Importantly, they stress that climate changes presents the world with an opportunity "to support low carbon climate resilient strategies for the poorest so that they become part of the combined effort in mitigation and adaptation". Here in Scotland, we must do more to deliver on this goal by addressing the climate and inequality crises together through actions to reduce emissions in ways that support wider social justice. For example, action to boost the use of public transport can drive down emissions and disproportionately benefit those on lower-incomes. At the same time, action to curb excessive emissions by the better off from car use and air travel can help drive down emissions and generate the finance needed to accelerate climate action and increase support to those already most impacted.

The Principles call for action to "Share Benefits and Burdens Equitably". All rich, developed countries, including Scotland, must recognise their development was underpinned by the unsustainable burning of fossil fuels. As the Principles state, they must therefore "cut emissions first". While Scotland's emissions are falling, three successive annual targets have been missed. The Principles also stress the need for rich countries to support low-income countries to sustainably develop and adapt to the climate crisis, including sharing finance and technology. On finance, the UK's climate finance obligations rest with the UK Government. However, Scotland's Climate Justice Fund is a welcome, though small-scale, contribution. On technology, the Scottish Government plans to establish a Global Renewable Centre to work "with our international development partner countries to exchange knowledge and research in renewable technologies"89 and the SNP manifesto committed to "create new peer to peer partnerships between Scotland's Centres of Expertise for Climate Change, Waters & Flooding and organisations in the Global South". 90 In addition, the 2019 round of the Climate Justice Fund included an innovation focus. More widely, the planned Wellbeing and Sustainable Development (Scotland) Bill creates an opportunity to legislate to underpin Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development, including the Government's Inter-Ministerial Working Group⁹¹, and to ensure that delivery of Scotland's National Outcomes positively impacts people and the environment within Scotland as well as low-income countries. For example, the Bill could require Ministers, local authorities and public bodies to deliver the Outcomes in ways that support low-income countries to increase their wellbeing and prevent unsustainable emissions. It could enhance scrutiny of legislation and the work of public bodies via mandatory impact assessments. 92,93

The Principles call for climate action to be "Participatory, Transparent and Accountable" with the voices of the most vulnerable "heard and acted upon". Scotland's Climate Assembly is an innovative model of participative engagement; it claims to represent a "mini-Scotland" with over 100 members broadly representative of the country in terms of age, gender, household income, ethnicity, geography, rurality, disability, and attitude towards climate change. The true test will be whether the Assembly's recommendations lead to policy and spending action. More widely, Scotland's annual emissions reporting provide transparency and accountability. However, while Scotland has missed the last three annual targets, the National Performance Framework's National Outcome on the Economy suggests that "performance is improving" on emissions because "the percentage reduction in the latest year exceeds that implied by the targets so there is some evidence that the gap between target levels and emissions is closing". While emissions continue to fall, a failure to achieve our legal targets cannot not be described as success. Additionally, further work is required to link the National Outcomes to the Scottish budget to ensure the Outcomes transparently drive spending choices. The Scottish Government's Contribution to International Development Report is also welcome but should continue to evolve to encourage continuous improvement by investigating areas of policy incoherence and the activities of all public bodies, rather than narrowly on Scottish Government-funded international activities.

Amid longstanding concerns about the inclusivity of COP26 to participants from the Global South, concerns which have grown due to COVID, the Scottish Government acted upon calls from civil society⁹⁷ to amplify the priorities of impacted

communities in the Global South. Four participatory Glasgow Climate Dialogues were held between 6-9 September 2021 on: Access, Participation and Voice; Adaptation and Resilience; Loss and Damage; and Just Transition. Participants included communities impacted by the climate crisis, as well as representatives of governments, non-governmental organisations, charities, universities and other Global South climate actors. A Communiqué will be launched on 30 September 2021. The Scottish Government's support for this initiative should be commended, along with its funding for the Conference of Youth (COY16)⁹⁸, the UN's official youth event of COP26. The Government says it will give "young people a voice in the climate negotiations" and a "Statement of Youth" will be presented at COP.

The Principles stress the importance of "Gender Equality and Equity". As discussed above, increasing women's participation in climate decision-making is essential. We welcome the Scottish Government's funding support for the Women's Environment and Development Organization to "support enhancing the voice and leadership of women leaders, including grassroots and indigenous women leaders, in climate change decision-making". The importance of women's leadership in relation to adaptation activities was also strongly reinforced in the Glasgow Climate Dialogue on Adaptation and Resilience. The Scottish Government says the Climate Challenge Programme Malawi, funded by the Climate Justice Fund, has outcomes "specifically dedicated towards the inclusion of women and girls in decision-making processes around climate change, as well as on boosting the incomes of female-headed household". We also welcome the Scottish Government plans to establish a "£500,000 International Development Women and Girls Empowerment Fund" which it says will be "targeted at helping women and girls, particularly in terms of accessing education, in our partner countries of Malawi, Zambia and Rwanda". 101

The Principle "Harness the Transformative Power of Education for climate stewardship" echoes Oxfam Scotland's call for greater investment in a climate-conscious and globally-engaged society in Scotland. Education is the bedrock on which transformative action can be built. Young people are demanding 102,103 faster emission cuts and for learning about the climate crisis to be core within Scotland's education system. 104 Currently, 'enabling young people to become responsible citizens' is one of the four key capacities of the Curriculum for Excellence. Global Citizenship Education 105 can help deliver this: it does not tell young people what to think but shows them that they have a voice and gives them the skills, knowledge and values to use it. It is enshrined in UN SDG 4.7¹⁰⁶ and, in Scotland, within pupils' entitlement to Learning for Sustainability (LfS). 107 However, teachers must have the support they need to deliver it and the Scottish Government's funding for Scotland's five Development Education Centres¹⁰⁸ should continue. It should also support initiatives to broaden knowledge of climate change, including within the private, public and third sectors, and its support of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society's Climate Solutions course is positive. 109 However, alongside education, it should increase incentives and requirements on the private sector to support climate action. The Environmental Impact element to the voluntary Scottish Business Pledge is positive¹¹⁰, but it is optional. The Government should also use public procurement to drive improved practice¹¹¹ through greater conditionality, as called for by the Advisory Group on Economic recovery. 112 In the last Scottish Parliament, the committee on climate change also said businesses in receipt of public money should "demonstrate credible action" in delivering social and environmental objectives. 113 This should be embedded within initiatives like Fair Work First 114, for example, requiring decision-making managers to undertake climate training and identify actions to support transformative climate action.

The final Principle is the "Effective Partnerships to Secure Climate Justice". Oxfam recognises the critical importance of partnership working and our global work is delivered in close collaboration with national and local organisations. We believe in strengthening the power of local organisations and communities — those who are best placed to understand the local context and drive their own change. To balance power fairly, we must value everyone's skills and knowledge, no matter who they are or where they're from. Positively, the Scottish Government has long recognised the importance of partnership working, both in relation to the development priorities of the Government's partner countries, and within the delivery of the Government-funded international projects. In relation to the Climate Justice Fund, it is understood that partnership working is encouraged within both the Climate Challenge Programme Malawi and the Climate Justice Innovation Fund, including requirements to demonstrate consultation with communities impacted by the climate crisis. Building on this, the Government has announced plans to create a new Global South Programme Panel to "lend expertise to our international development work and ensure voices from the Global South continue to be heard in Scotland." We also welcome the Government's proactive partnership working as part of the Wellbeing Economy Governments initiative, and the role it is playing as European Co-Chair of the Under2 Coalition. 116

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